592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own rugo with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the rugo of a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more successful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aiding and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow] for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1),

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great deal to provide his wife with ububutega (rings made of grasses) which she wore by the hundred on her legs. This finery which weighed down the Banyarwanda woman's figure and interfered with walking was considered the height of elegance, for it gave her the gait of cows that are universally admired in Ruanda.

[481]

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be disgraced.

593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her rugo, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 44.

from her husband.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited
438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neighborly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega. Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
248 They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in
[518] which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

30| southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for

2. Ibid., p. 443.

wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait.

[481]

6:Czekanowski--85 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft.

We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According tc Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.)

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[524] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
[726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.